



THE
PROPOSED RECIPROCITY TREATY:

AN ADDRESS

DELIVERED

BY REQUEST OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE LEADING MANUFACTURING
INDUSTRIES OF THE UNITED STATES,

AT THE

ACADEMY OF MUSIC, PHILADELPHIA,

OCTOBER 28, 1874.

BY

HON. WM. D. KELLEY.

PHILADELPHIA:
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RECIPROCITY TREATY.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—

Regarding the so-called reciprocity treaty now pending before the Senate of the United States as one of the most important measures ever submitted to that body, I cheerfully comply with the request of the representatives of the manufacturing and industrial interests of Philadelphia to express my views upon it; and without detaining you with preliminary remarks will proceed at once to the consideration of the subject.

The Source of British Supremacy.

The story of the British army and navy is a continuous page of glory, the lustre of which is rarely dimmed by a cloud even such as those our fathers cast upon it by their success in achieving the independence of the colonies, and during the war of 1812. Yet in no sense has England made her chief or most remunerative conquests by means of her army and navy. Diplomacy is the instrumentality by which these have been achieved; and should the treaty now pending be ratified and submitted to by the American people it would, though her representatives would have us believe that it is simply a measure providing for a reciprocal treaty between the Dominion of Canada and the United States, be the grandest and most profitable of her diplomatic conquests. The Imperial government, so they would make us believe, does but consent that the Canadian government may propose to the government of the United States the terms of such a treaty, and that its minister at Washington, as an act of grace towards the provinces, may conduct negotiations relating thereto, in conjunction with a representative of Canada. Meanwhile we are not to be permitted to know that England is the party supremely interested, and the only one of the contracting parties to whose honor and profit the treaty will redound.

The Canadians do not want the Treaty.

The phrase a "put up job" is probably unknown to diplomatic circles, though it is often used in the neighborhood of police offices and criminal courts. Long years ago, when I prosecuted the pleas of this county, I learned that this ill-sounding phrase expressed the fact that crafty people had so arranged circumstances as to enable them to charge an innocent party who might be obnoxious to them with a criminal or discreditable transaction, and thus induce the government to put him out of their way; and if this treaty should be approved by the Senate, and ratified by the President, the phrase should thenceforth be incorporated into the language of diplomacy; for the Canadian people do not ask for a renewal of reciprocity, are opposed to almost every provision of the scheme now proposed in their name, and will suffer from some of its provisions more vitally than we can from any of them. They number but four millions, and it will bind them in perpetual vassalage; but as we number forty millions, we may, by the free use of our army, navy, and militia, now so largely composed of tried veterans, emancipate ourselves. Not only do the Canadians not desire this treaty, but many of them denounce it as a job put up by the British government and the ambitious leaders of their own Dominion who recognize the Imperial government as the fountain of wealth and honor.

A Few English Diplomatic Conquests.

Before proceeding to the consideration of the details of the treaty, and pointing out the dangers with which its provisions threaten the industries and finances of Canada and the United States, let me call your attention to a few of England's diplomatic conquests, which will serve to illustrate the means by which she extends her commerce and forces her productions upon foreign nations, to the destruction of their enterprise and the prevention of the development of their natural resources. In 1535 Europe trembled before the advancing hordes of Solyman the Magnificent, the Sultan of Turkey, from whose victorious grasp Vienna had just narrowly escaped. All Europe trembled before the steady conquests of the Moslem chief. But notwithstanding this almost universal fear, Francis the First and Charles the Fifth found time to train their armies in a war between France and the German Empire. In this war England was not engaged, yet one of its incidents paved the way to her conquest of Turkey, which she now holds in subjection to her will almost as completely as she does Ireland or India, both of whom are victims rather of her diplomacy

than of her prowess. Francis, anxious to avenge the defeat of Pavia, made secret proposals to the Porte for an alliance by means of which he could threaten the introduction of the Moslem into Italy. The Turk was too proud to bind himself by a treaty, but, calling it a truce or armistice, he entered into stipulations with France which received the name of capitulations. Before that time no Christian country had entered into treaty relations or other conventions with the infidel, and Francis brought himself into discredit with all Christian powers by having thus recognized the Moslem as a power that ought to exist. He was denounced in every tongue and at every court. It was then for the first time that Europe declared one traitor to be worse than ten Turks. But bitter as were the denunciations of Christian rulers they were withdrawn when it was discovered that the terms Francis had made were good for trade. Having discovered this they not only held their peace, but hastened to enter into like capitulations. Venice concluded hers in less than five years; Austria hers in 1567; England did not succeed until 1579, ten years after the original articles had been renewed; and Holland not until 1598. Among the renewed capitulations was a provision that the duties on the importation of manufactures into Turkey should be fixed at three per cent. ad valorem, and of this provision England got the benefit. It was not, let me remark in passing, stipulated that the duty should be calculated on the value of the article in Turkey, and the practice has been for foreign exporters to fix their value and thus determine the amount on which the three per cent. should be paid. Of course, the glories of the Ottoman power soon vanished, and poor Turkey has been known to our generation as the Sick Man of Europe. The Turk, though invincible in arms, was enslaved by diplomacy.

Encouraged by her success at Constantinople, England sought similar treaties with the States on the Barbary coast—with Tunis, Tripoli, Morocco, and subsequently forced such provisions upon Persia, Muscat, Siam, Japan, and China. It is due to her to say that in some instances she has permitted her victims to exact as high as five per cent. duty on the English valuation of goods. A writer in the *Fortnightly Review* for July last, to whom I acknowledge my indebtedness, says:—

“In the same way and at the same time, we have everywhere obtained that our goods shall be imported into all these countries at duties of either three or five per cent. We are continuing to apply to Eastern nations this double system of tariffs and jurisdiction of goods and judges. To attain those ends we use all sorts of means,

from courteous invitations to bombardments. We prefer to employ mere eloquence, because it is cheap and easy ; but if talking fails we follow it up by gunboats, and in that convincing way we induce hesitating 'barbarians' not only to accept our two unvarying conditions, but also to pay the cost of the expedition by which their consent to these conditions was extorted from them. We tried patience and polite proposals with Tunis, Tripoli, and Morocco. China was so unwilling to listen to our advice, so blind to the striking merits of our opium and our consuls, that we were obliged, with great regret, to resort to gentle force with her. Japan presents the most curious example of the series ; it is made up of ignorance circumvented and of indignation frightened. Indeed, if we had space for it, the story of the Japan treaties would be worth telling, because it is a very special one, because it is the newest triumph of our justice abroad, and because it may be taken as indicative of our present 'manner,' as painters say."

Reciprocity Eradicated the Woollen Factories of Portugal.

Unlike these cases was that of the famous Methuen treaty of 1684 with Portugal. The Portuguese had made great progress in the manufacture of woollen goods, and had become immense producers of wool. The people steadily increased in prosperity, and the government found annually increasing revenues flowing into its coffers. Tracing these good results to the establishment of manufactures, the government prohibited the introduction of woollen goods from other countries, but unhappily named the articles prohibited. English manufacturers evaded the prohibition by changing the names and modifying the character of their productions. Serges and druggets were names, then wholly unknown to the Portuguese, but with which the English were soon to make them familiar by flooding their markets with goods competing with their own productions under these hitherto unknown names. Determining to protect the industries of its people and its own revenues, the Portuguese government prohibited the importation of articles bearing these new names and of woollen cloths generally.

English manufacturers, finding themselves excluded from Portuguese markets, invoked the aid of their government, and demanded that it should destroy these industries which threatened their profits and their commercial supremacy. The establishment and protection of manufactures was, however, not a recognized cause of war. The army and navy were, therefore, powerless in the premises, but the British government did not turn a deaf ear to the appeal, and would try what diplomacy might accomplish, and Methuen, her

wily representative, whispering reciprocity to the Portuguese government, suggested visions of commercial greatness. What if Portugal, by the admission of her wines free of duty into British ports, should be enabled to exclude those of France and Germany, and thus enjoy a monopoly of the British wine market? How would other countries be abased and Portugal exalted by such a result? Having thus touched the ambition of the government, it was easy to suggest that Portugal and England should by perpetual treaty agree that the wines of the former and the woollen manufactures of the latter should, in a spirit of fraternal reciprocity, be admitted into the respective countries free of duty. The spider had charmed the fly. The treaty was made.

Of the effect of this reciprocity upon Portugal and England, a writer in the *British Merchantman*, a few years after, said:—

“Before the treaty our woollen goods, woollen serges, and cloth products were prohibited in Portugal. They had set up fabrics there for making cloth and proceeded with very good success, and we might justly apprehend they would have gone on to erect other fabrics, until at last they had served themselves with every species of woollen manufactures. The treaty takes off all prohibitions and pledges Portugal to admit, forever, all our woollen manufactures. Their own fabrics, by this means, were perfectly ruined, and we exported one hundred thousand pounds, sterling value, of the single article of cloths the very year after the treaty. The court was pestered with remonstrances from their manufacturers, when the prohibition was taken off, pursuant to Mr. Methuen’s treaty, but the thing was passed, the treaty was ratified, and their looms were all ruined.”

It would Impoverish our People and Involve us in War with England.

Let me not be misunderstood. I do not mean to intimate that the ratification of the pending treaty would reduce the United States to the condition of Turkey, Portugal, or China. What I affirm is that, while closing the mines and destroying many of the industries of Canada, it would revive the languishing trade and commerce of England, and reduce a number of our leading industries to such a condition as would impel the impoverished and suffering people to force the Government to disregard the stipulations of the treaty, though it should involve us in years of war, and again drive our shipping from the seas.

Some Provisions of the Treaty.

In order that you may judge whether this suggestion is an extreme one, let me invite your attention to some of its provisions:—

It proposes to restore to us the right we held prior to the treaty of 1818, of taking, curing, and drying fish in and along the inshore fisheries of the Dominion, and that in consideration of the restoration of this right the fishermen of the Dominion may enjoy the same rights on our coast as far south as the thirty-ninth parallel, which they have not hitherto done. In so far I can discover only harmless and substantial reciprocity.

How Long it is to Bind Us.

It proposes that the articles, being the growth, product, or manufacture of the Dominion of Canada or of the United States, enumerated in three extended schedules, shall, on their importation from the one country into the other, from the 1st day of July, 1875, to the 30th day of June, 1876, both included, pay only two-thirds of the duties payable at the date of the treaty, on such importations, and from the 1st day of July, 1876, to the 30th of July, 1877, shall pay only one-third of such duties, and on and after the 1st day of July, 1877, for a period of twenty-one years, such goods shall be admitted free of duty into each country respectively. Without pausing to consider the articles embraced in these schedules, let me bring other of its propositions to your attention.

It will Extend the British Frontier to the Port of New York.

It proposes to extend the British frontier, which is our weak point in case of war with Great Britain, to and through Lake Champlain and the Hudson River to the wharves of New York and Jersey City, and along the St. Clair Flats Canal and the Sault Ste. Marie Canal, and to so improve and enlarge these channels that British vessels of war drawing not more than twelve feet may traverse, and in the event of war occupy them all, and thus harass and invest Buffalo, Erie, Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, Duluth, and other cities and towns upon the lakes.

In making this statement I do not quote the text of the treaty, but express a possibility its projector evidently had in view. The treaty being one of amity, for the promotion of reciprocal trade, such suggestions could have no place in its text. But let us see whether its draftsman may not have contemplated such possibilities.

Article V. stipulates that the Canadian canals on the main route from Lake Erie to Montreal shall be enlarged forthwith, at the ex-

pense of Canada, so as to admit the passage of vessels drawing twelve feet of water, the locks not to be less than 270 feet in length, 45 feet in width, and of not less than 12 feet in depth on the mitre sill, and that the channel of the St. Lawrence shall be deepened in the reaches between the canals so as to allow the free passage of vessels drawing twelve feet.

Article VI. stipulates that Canada shall, before the 1st of January, 1880, construct a canal of like dimensions to connect the St. Lawrence at a point near Caughnawaga with Lake Champlain, and binds the United States to urge the government of the State of New York to cause the canal at Whitehall on Lake Champlain to Albany to be enlarged, and if necessary extended, or another or other canals to be constructed of equal capacity with the Caughnawaga canal, and the navigation of the Hudson River to be improved, so as to admit the passage to the lower waters of the Hudson River of vessels drawing twelve feet of water.

When this shall all have been accomplished, will not, I ask you, the maritime frontier of the British provinces have been extended to the wharves of New York, and an ample channel have been provided for the approach of English war vessels of light draught to our commercial metropolis?

The provisions of Article VIII., which secure the free use of these channels to Canadian vessels, are so complicated, and expressed with so much subtlety, that I prefer to state them in the language of the treaty. They are as follows:—

“It is agreed, that for the term of years mentioned in Article XIII. of this treaty, the citizens of the United States shall enjoy the use of the Welland, the St. Lawrence, and other canals in the Dominion of Canada (including the proposed Caughnawaga Canal), on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the Dominion of Canada, and that without interfering with the right of the government of Canada to impose such tolls on the aforesaid Canadian canals respectively as it may think fit, the tolls shall be levied in relation to the number of the locks in each canal, without any drawback or discrimination, whatever the destination of the vessel, or whether one or more canal or canals, or part of a canal, be passed.

“And it is also agreed that for the like term of years the inhabitants of Canada shall enjoy the use of the St. Clair Flats Canal on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the United States; and that the navigation of Lake Champlain and Lake Michigan shall be free and open for the purpose of commerce to the inhabitants of Canada, subject to any laws or regulations of the United States, or of the

States bordering thereon respectively, not inconsistent with such privileges of free navigation.

"And the United States further engage to urge upon the governments of the States of New York and of Michigan to secure to the inhabitants of Canada the use of the Erie, the Whitehall, the Sault Ste. Marie canals, and of any enlarged or extended or new canal or other improvement connecting Lake Champlain with the lower waters of the Hudson River which may be made, as contemplated in Article VI., on terms of equality with the inhabitants of the United States.

"And it is mutually agreed that full power shall be given and allowed to transship cargo from vessels into canal boats, and from canal boats into vessels, at either terminus of every canal.

"And further, that if the use of the Erie and Whitehall, or other canal connecting Lake Champlain with the lower waters of the Hudson River and of Sault Ste. Marie canal, be not granted to the inhabitants of Canada on terms of equality with the citizens of the United States, as contemplated in this article, then the use of the proposed Caughnawaga canal by the citizens of the United States, as above contemplated, shall be suspended and cease until the use of the said canals in the United States shall be secured to the inhabitants of Canada, as above contemplated."

It would Abolish our Ship-yards and Commercial Marine.

The remarkable growth of our ship-yards and increase of our commercial marine was secured by the First Congress and the Administration of Washington, when they enacted and carried into effect navigation laws, which provided that all exchange of commodities between United States ports should be carried in vessels built in the country and owned exclusively by American citizens residing in the country. Our domestic or coastwise commerce is more than thirty times as great as our foreign commerce, and by securing it to American-built vessels, owned and manned by American citizens, the fathers assured the growth of our ship building and the maintenance of a training-school for sailors fit for the duties of commerce or war. But the English draftsman of this treaty has discovered that the wisdom of the fathers was folly. That it is not necessary for a commercial republic with a more extended coast than demands protection at the hands of any other people, to have either ship-yards or a training-school for sailors, and that it will best consult its interests and its honor by permitting the subjects of its manufacturing and commercial rival to build its vessels and conduct the carrying trade between its ports. Lest it may be

doubted whether British effrontery could go so far as to submit such a proposition as this, let me remind you that we import most of our ship-timber from Canada, that wages in the Dominion are but from sixty-six to seventy-five per cent. of those we customarily pay, and invite your attention to Article IX., which is as follows:—

“For the term of years mentioned in Article XIII. of this treaty, vessels of all kinds built in the United States may be purchased by inhabitants of Canada, subjects of Great Britain, and registered in Canada as Canadian vessels, and, reciprocally, vessels of all kinds built in Canada may be purchased by citizens of the United States, and registered in the United States as United States vessels.”

It may not be improper to remark to the ladies who honor me with their presence, and who are not familiar with the technical language of commerce, that a vessel registered as a United States vessel may sail under our flag and engage in our domestic or coast-wise carrying trade; and that as timber is so much cheaper and wages so much lower in Canada than in the United States, we would under this stipulation soon count ship-building as a lost art. Whether at the end of twenty-four years, for which the treaty is to bind us, Congress could revive it by annulling the treaty and reviving the wise navigation laws of the fathers, no thoughtful man will attempt to say.

It Proposes to Remit Jurisdiction over Part of our Territory, Lighthouses, and Fisheries to Joint Commissions.

Not content with extending the British frontier to the wharves of New York and extirpating our ship-yards, the authors of this project propose that we shall yield jurisdiction over our soil—so far as the matter of lighthouses on the great lakes, and the promotion of the propagation of fish in inland water, which are to be made common to both people—to joint commissions; and, after having thus illustrated the excessive modesty of British diplomacy, the treaty graciously provides, that, after the expiration of twenty-one years from the 1st day of July, 1875, either of the high contracting parties may give notice of its wish that, at the end of three years from the giving of such notice, the treaty shall terminate. As it would require Congress to instruct the President to give such notice, more than a quarter of a century must elapse before we will be able to escape peaceably from the crippling, dwarfing, and enfeebling provisions of this treaty about which the people were not to be consulted. What minister or senator has the prescience to determine the fiscal policy this country will require ten or twenty years hence,

or at the end of a quarter century! Has the executive power the right to deprive Congress of its constitutional control of the revenue system of the country for a quarter of a century? And will the American people consent to be impoverished for so long a period by such an assumption of power by any executive? These are questions worthy of grave consideration. Whose imagination can adequately portray the condition of our country a quarter century hence? My poor powers shrink from the task. One thing, however, is certain—if we avoid such “entangling alliances” as this and grow at our normal rate, the American people will, a quarter of a century hence, number nearly if not quite one hundred millions.

What will be their condition as to wealth, refinement, and power I will not attempt to suggest, but a brief retrospect may help you to conceive it. Permit me, therefore, to repeat a few remarks I made from this desk on the 12th of June, 1871.

The Results of a Quarter of a Century.

A quarter of a century ago there was no San Francisco. Not a cabin or a hut stood within the now corporate limits of that beautiful and prosperous city. California, Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico were still Mexican territory. Neither science nor observation had detected the deposits of gold and silver, or the agricultural capabilities of that vast region of country. The great railroad centre of the West, Chicago, had not yet come into public view. The less than 10,000 people who had gathered at the confluence of the Chicago river with Lake Michigan, had no presentiment that the swamp in which they dwelt would, in less than twenty years, be filled up and raised nearly twenty feet, to provide drainage for the streets of the most enterprising and remarkable city of its age in the world. Michigan then had a population of less than 250,000, and Missouri and Iowa each but 100,000; and civilization had not yet penetrated the wild region known as Minnesota Territory, where the census takers, four years later, found but 6038 people. Four years later there were but 91,635 people in California, which had then been ceded to us by Mexico, and admitted to the Union as a State, and whose recently discovered deposits of gold had attracted immigrants from every clime. There was no government in Kansas and Nebraska, that whole fertile region being in possession of the Indian and buffalo. The name of that busy centre of river and railroad commerce, Omaha, had not been heard by English-speaking people, and the vast mineral, grazing, and agricultural region through which the Union and Central Pacific Railroad is now doing a profitable and rapidly increasing business, was

noted by geographers as the "Great American Desert." Philadelphia had no railroad connection with Pittsburg, Pittsburg none with Cincinnati or Chicago, nor any of these with St. Louis. The northwestern part of our State was known as the "Wild Cat Country," in which it was regarded as a misfortune to own land unless it was timbered and on the banks of a mountain stream; and properties in that wide section in which coal and petroleum have since been discovered, were sold every few years for taxes, because people could not afford to own land in such a cold, mountainous, unproductive, and inaccessible country.

Surely the world moves, and time does work wonders. What railroads we have you know; what railroads we are to have you only begin to suspect. In Europe during this quarter of a century dynasties and the boundaries of empires have changed, but the increase of population has been scarcely perceptible. The oppressions of the feudal past linger there and cannot be shaken off. But here, where man is free, and nature offers boundless returns to enterprise, broad empires have risen, embracing towns, cities, and States; and millions of people, born in many lands, with poverty and oppression as their only birthright, are now, as American citizens, enjoying all the comforts and refinements of civilization, and with capital rivalling that of European princes, originating and pressing forward great enterprises which are in the next quarter of a century to work more marvellous changes than any I have alluded to. Yes, ladies and gentlemen, were supernal power to unfold to our view our country as it shall be a quarter of a century hence, the most far-seeing and sanguine of us would regard the reality as a magnificent delusion. Our extension of territory and law, great as it has been, is of small consequence in comparison with the achievements of mind in the empire of science and art, whereby man is enabled to produce tenfold, and in many departments of productive industry a hundred-fold as much as he could twenty-five years ago by the same amount of labor. New roads are to be built, new towns, cities, and States to be created, new resources to be developed; and the sluggish people of the Orient are to be awakened to their own interest, and induced to contribute their vast share to the progress and commerce of the world. The vision that filled the soul of Columbus was a grand one, but that which opens to our view, and should possess and animate us, is as much grander and more beneficent as the civilization and arts of the close of the nineteenth century are superior to those of the dawning days of the fourteenth century.

The Canadians are Opposed to the Treaty.

The people of Canada do not desire this treaty. Indeed, they justly dread it more than we have reason to. They see that it is replete with causes of misunderstanding between the United States and Great Britain, and that more than one of these are grave enough to be a possible cause of war. In such an event Canada would be the battle-field; for with the British frontier brought to the heart of our country it would be impossible to defend it except by over-running Canada, blockading the St. Lawrence, and maintaining an adequate line of defence at a point east of Quebec. I have observed several allusions to this possibility in Canadian discussions of the question. But on other points they speak more freely. The *Hamilton Spectator*, in a thoughtful article concerning the treaty, said:—

“Not only does this treaty propose free trade between us and the United States, but it involves free trade between us and Great Britain. It is not to be supposed that the British government has consented to the treaty without stipulating for the same privileges for their own people as are to be accorded to those of the United States. It has long been the settled policy of the empire that no other nation shall obtain a favored position in the markets of the colonies. And it is not at all probable that Mr. Disraeli would consent to a different policy without the consent of Parliament. Even if he did, the public sentiment of England would condemn the act and demand its reversal. Beyond a doubt the acceptance of this treaty means free trade with both the United States and Great Britain. Is there a sane man in Canada who believes our infant manufacturing industry can withstand the shock of that combined assault? But this free trade is not only fraught with ruin to our manufacturing industry, but it also dries up the main source of our present revenue. Now the national works which the faith of the country is pledged to carry out, require that our revenues should be increased, not diminished. From what source, then, is that increase and the deficiency caused by the treaty to be made good? Every one will see that direct taxation is our only resort under such circumstances.”

In another article, approving the protest of the Dominion Board of Trade against the treaty, the same paper says: “It is folly any longer to disguise the fact that unless we are saved by the United States Senate we are on the eve of a crisis which ought to make thoughtful men pause and consider. If this ‘leap in the dark’ is once taken, it cannot, unfortunately, be recalled, even if the authors of it become convinced of their mistake. For nearly a quarter of a

century the treaty moulds our fiscal policy if it is accepted. No matter what changes may take place in our condition during that time, no matter what experience we may gain in that time, we leave ourselves powerless to take advantage of either. Our people may grow restive under the burden of direct taxation which the treaty will certainly impose, but they will be bound hand and foot to it, without the possibility of escape. The United States can afford the risk of this experiment, because even if it should prove injurious to them it will be but a drop in the bucket, but to us the question is a vital one; if we make a mistake in this matter it is a vital one."

On the 23d of September a large and intelligent meeting assembled in St. Lawrence Hall, Toronto, on the call of his Worship the Mayor, for the purpose of considering the treaty. The time of holding the meeting was selected with reference to the simultaneous assembling at Toronto of an important political convention, and the holding of a provincial exhibition of the mineral, mechanical, and agricultural productions of the Dominion. Quite a number of gentlemen addressed the meeting, and I will detain you on this point long enough to quote briefly from some of their addresses:—

Mr. Hewitt said that, "in looking back to the history of their country they would find out that it had not long emerged from a wilderness. The thing they now ought to do was to try to develop the mineral resources of the country, and also to develop manufactures. It would not be well for Canada to remain simply an agricultural community. It has never been asserted by those who desired to see the treaty passed that it would benefit the iron, leather, or paper trade, but it had been said that the agricultural classes would be benefited." He also observed that "it was well for a country to develop its own resources, and also to consume its own productions. The treaty, if passed, would entail many difficulties on this country; for if it were found to be impossible for Canada to fulfil the obligations contained in the treaty regarding the deepening and building of the canal, it would probably bring about a quarrel with the United States."

Mr. Reynolds said that "the treaty would probably bring about direct taxation, and that the farmers would not desire to promote such a state of things."

Mr. E. O. Bickford said "George Brown was the cause of this treaty, he having originated it, and he only did so for the sake of self-aggrandizement. It had been argued that England did well under a policy of free trade, but he should like to point out that the trade of England had been built up under a protective policy, and England only desired free trade when her manufactures had

been thoroughly built up. If Canada passed the reciprocity treaty, the manufacturing interests of the country would altogether be done away with. Under the present circumstances emigrants could always get work, but if the treaty were adopted there would be no work for a large number of persons who arrive in this country from the lands of Europe."

Dr. Rolles, who was one of the first speakers, reminded the meeting that it was not political, but one which had come together to consider a matter affecting the social welfare of the country for the next twenty years, and added that it was the general opinion in Canada that the treaty had not been negotiated in a constitutional manner, as the government ought to have originated the matter, and not Mr. George Brown. Mr. Brown had for many years objected to endeavoring to get the United States to grant a treaty, but now he was suing hard for one. Other gentlemen spoke in the same vein, making it perfectly clear that none of them regarded the movement as one originating with the Canadian people, or one that was desired by them. But most authoritative of these expressions was that of the Dominion Board of Trade, which, after elaborate discussion of the subject, expressed its disapproval of the proposed treaty by the emphatic vote of twenty-seven to six.

The Canadian papers speak of the board as a representative body, coming from every section of the Dominion, and say that it was governed not by political, but by purely commercial considerations, and also speak of the treaty as the result "of the ambitious views of Mr. Brown."

I might adduce much additional evidence of the hostility of the people of the Dominion to the proposed treaty, but will not consume more time in that direction, but will invite your attention to official proof that the treaty is a job, put up by the British and Canadian ministers, of which the people of the North American Colonies are, in common with the people of the United States, to be the victims.

What a British Blue Book shows—a Sudden Conversion.

In turning from boards of trade, town meetings, and leading editors, let us take a glance at a chapter from the British Blue Book. It is here entitled "North America, Nov. 4, 1874, correspondence relating to the negotiations for a Reciprocity Treaty between Canada and the United States, presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of her Majesty, 1874." I pray you keep in mind the fact, asserted by Dr. Rolles and referred to by others, that Mr. George Brown had been the persistent adversary of reciprocity. You will

then wonder at the part assigned him, and ask yourselves what converted him and made him—as we shall learn he was found by her Majesty's government to be—the fittest man in the entire Dominion to be sent to Washington to aid Sir Edward Thornton in the arrangement of the terms and the promotion of the ratification of the proposed treaty. Doubtless you will think it was grave reflection, elaborate study of the interests of the country, consultation with her people, especially her thinkers, and those interested in the development of her resources and the diversification of her industries. The correspondence in the Blue Book does not confirm this theory. No! no paper in it furnishes any hint of this kind; but, on the contrary, they show that on or about the 23d of February, 1874, he and his colleague, Mr. Mackenzie, suddenly discovered that the then present was a most favorable opportunity for the renewal of negotiations for a reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States of America, by which the claim for compensation as regards the fisheries, might be settled without the reference provided for by Article XXII. of the Treaty of Washington. How do we arrive at this information? Why, No. 1 of this correspondence is an extract from a letter of the Earl of Dufferin to the Earl of Carnarvon with one enclosure. It is dated February 24, 1874, and reads as follows:—

“I have the honor to send herewith an approved copy of the order in Council of the 23d of February, of which I have already communicated by telegram a slightly abbreviated transcript. My present advisers are very anxious to take advantage of the opportunity which seems about to present itself to re-establish a reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States of America. I imagine that the course they contemplate will be generally approved throughout the country, and they assure me that it will meet with the approbation of Parliament.”

The enclosure is dated on the 23d of February, and is a report of the Committee of the Privy Council, setting forth that the Committee of Councils had under consideration a memorandum, dated on that day, the 23d of February, 1874, from the Hon. Mr. Mackenzie, in which he states that he considers the present a most favorable opportunity, etc., so that it appears that the subject was brought to the attention of Councils on the 23d of February, and, being a matter which required no consideration, was acted upon forthwith, and a minute thereof, slightly abbreviated, transmitted by telegraph to the proper department of the Imperial government on the same day, and a full copy thereof forwarded by mail on the next day. But the Earl of Carnarvon, as it appears, did not wait

the coming of the full copy before replying. The business was not of such importance as to require deliberation, and on the 5th of March his lordship replied from Downing Street to Lord Dufferin's telegram of the 24th of February, approving the proposal and informing the Canadian ministers that they might "rest assured that her Majesty's government are desirous to meet, as far as it may be practicable to do so, the reasonable wishes upon this subject of the Canadian ministers, and that they will be prepared to give careful consideration to any further proposals which may be made by them during the course of the negotiations;" and in passing his lordship added that, "with view to saving delay, you are at liberty to communicate unreservedly, though confidentially, with Sir Edward Thornton the views of your government, taking care, however, to transmit to me, at the earliest opportunity, copies of such correspondence."

Here it becomes apparent that part of the correspondence has possibly, from prudential reasons, been withheld even from Parliament. For the next communication is from the Earl of Dufferin to the Earl of Carnarvon. It is dated Government House, Ottawa, March 17, 1874, in which the Governor-General of Canada says: "I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a telegram dated March 14, from your lordship, in which you are pleased to signify your assent to the request of my government that a Canadian gentleman should be associated with Sir Edward Thornton in the event of her Majesty's government authorizing the British minister at Washington to enter upon a negotiation with the United States for the whole or a part of the renewal of the reciprocity treaty." His lordship then conveys to the Earl of Carnarvon the sense of Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues in the administration of the consideration which has been shown to their representations by her Majesty's government in this matter; and informs his lordship that "it is perfectly understood by the Dominion government that her Majesty's government, in consenting to authorize the substitution of a reciprocity treaty in lieu of the money payment secured to Canada by her fishery claims in the article of the Treaty of Washington, have done so at the instance and solicitations of the Canadian government;" and further adds that "it is also understood that the Canadian commissioner will act under Imperial instructions, and that all propositions to be made to the United States government will be previously submitted to the secretary of State."

Just here, questions obtrude themselves upon us. Can you help asking why the communication of the Governor-General of Canada, conveying to the Imperial government the request of the Dominion

government that a Canadian gentleman might be associated with Sir Edward Thornton in this negotiation, is not given in this Blue Book? The request had been made before the 14th of March, for on that day it was granted by telegram. Could the request possibly have been enforced by the suggestion that such a Canadian gentleman might resort to practices and avail himself of agencies which diplomatic propriety would prevent Sir Edward Thornton, her Majesty's minister plenipotentiary, from resorting to? As we proceed, circumstances may shed some light on the point. Again, if these negotiations had been instituted, as is pretended, at the special instance and request of the Canadian government, why did the Earls of Dufferin and Carnarvon feel it necessary to spread the fact so broadly upon the face of that part of the correspondence that was to be published? "My lady doth protest too much," says *Hamlet*; and if the Canadian people had impelled their government to ask for a reciprocity treaty, some of them would have known the fact before reading this diplomatic assurance that it had occurred. Yet their knowledge of the fact depends upon this assurance, and upon it alone!

Why, if Mr. George Brown's conversion had been as sudden as that of Saul, and he had been inspired with the power to move the Privy Council and the Governor-General with such fiery zeal that his new idea must be telegraphed to England on the day of his inspiration, was not Lord Dufferin content to let the world accept the fact without putting it so prominently before the public? and if the movement was of Canadian origin, and was made for the benefit of the people of Canada, and was graciously consented to by the British government, why does Dufferin take such pains to assure Carnarvon that it is understood that the Canadian commissioner will act not upon his own judgment or for the interests of the people of Canada, or in accordance with the wishes of the Canadian Ministry, but "*will act under Imperial instructions, and that all propositions to be made to the United States government will be previously submitted to the Secretary of State?*"

But if it be true that these negotiations were initiated and have been conducted at the express instance and solicitation of the Canadian government, Mr. Brown not only cut immense packages of red tape but imparted his own hot haste and fiery zeal in the cause to her Majesty's ministers. This subject, of such vast importance, was, as I have shown, first suggested to the Privy Council on the 23d of February; and the Earl of Derby, by a letter from the Foreign Office, dated February 27, transmitted to Sir Edward Thornton a copy of the telegraphic despatch received by her

Majesty's Secretary of State for the colonial department, from the Governor-General of Canada; from which it appears, "that the Council of the Dominion are of the opinion that the present is a most favorable opportunity for a renewal of negotiations for a reciprocity treaty between Great Britain and the United States," etc.; and "informing Sir Edward that her Majesty's government are ready to make the proposals which the Council desire, and they now authorize you to propose to the United States government to enter into a treaty to renew the third article of the reciprocity treaty of 1854; with a provision for preserving in force articles twenty-second to twenty-fifth of the treaty of Washington, in case the arrangement now proposed should fail to be carried out within a limited time, to be fixed for that purpose."

When was diplomacy ever so rapid as this? On the 23d Mr. Brown and Mr. Mackenzie suggest to the Privy Council of Canada the idea of making an effort for a renewal of reciprocity. The Governor-General transmits the idea to London with lightning speed, and by the 26th, when the Secretary of State for the colonial department probably dictated his letters, which would bear date the 27th, he had given the grave and complicated subject such mature consideration that he was able to communicate the basis of just such a treaty as Mr. George Brown and the other members of the Privy Council had thought of. Let no one hereafter say that British diplomacy is slow and crafty, or regard Dickens' description of the circumlocution office as anything else than a libellous caricature! In view of these facts, is there room to doubt that Mr. George Brown's inspiration came from the British government? Where had he observed facts indicating that that was a most favorable opportunity for a renewal of negotiations for a reciprocity treaty between the United States and the Dominion?

"He has eyes full sharp I ween
Who sees what is not to be seen."

Had not you and I as good opportunities as he for ascertaining whether the public opinion of this country desired a renewal of reciprocity? What statesman had brought forward any such proposition? What community had agitated the question? Was it the subject of discussion in the daily or other journals of the country? No, none of these things had taken place, and the unbroken current of events showed that the American people were hostile to such a project. Congress had availed itself of the earliest opportunity to give notice of the termination of the treaty of 1854; and its action had been approved by the entire country. In

the early part of the session of Congress of 1865-6, the Committee of Ways and Means reported a bill to the House of Representatives, which, by a reduction of the duties on Canadian productions, would practically revive some of the provisions of the expiring treaty; but it was so roughly handled by the House, and found so little support, that the chairman withdrew the bill on the 7th of March, and it never was heard of again.

The representatives of the people would not tolerate even this modified form of reciprocity, though as a law it would be under their control, and, unlike the provisions of a treaty, liable to revision as the mutations of business might require.

But, as if to emphasize the national hostility to the measure, Congress, by a joint resolution, which was approved June 23, 1870, required the Secretary of the Treasury to appoint a special agent to inquire into the extent and state of the trade between the United States and the several dependencies of Great Britain in North America. The Secretary confided that duty to Mr. J. N. Larned, a gentleman eminently qualified for its faithful and intelligent discharge. His report, to which I shall have occasion to refer, was made January 28, 1871, and transmitted to Congress on the 3d of February, 1871, and from that day till the coming among us of Mr. George Brown, so far as you and I have been able to learn, no expression of opinion in favor of the establishment of reciprocity between the British dominions of North America and the United States had been heard in this country. That opinion had yet to be created, and Mr. Brown exhibited no small measure of self-reliance when he concluded that he could, if the British government would furnish him with the proper appliances, come to this country and create it.

Mr. George Brown's Diplomatic Methods.

Mr. Brown does not lack confidence. It was not until the 21st of March that the Earl of Derby informed him that her Majesty had been graciously pleased to appoint him to be joint plenipotentiary with her Majesty's minister at Washington, for the purpose of negotiating and concluding a treaty with the United States. But anticipating his appointment Mr. George Brown had done us the honor to come among us early in February, and to begin to manufacture the opinion which was to justify his assertion that the times presented a most favorable opportunity for the renewal of reciprocity. His palpable progress was not rapid.

Indeed, during that visit he seems to have done little else than

confer with Sir Edward Thornton, and, as a private citizen boarding at a hotel, ascertain the material out of which he could, when he should be commissioned to treat with our government, organize a corps of claquers and lobbyists to influence the opinion of American senators. The time had not yet come for active operations; but it would be no disadvantage to him to be on familiar terms with the representatives and managers of such journals as might be induced to support his project, and he made the intimate acquaintance of some such gentlemen. Having accomplished thus much he returned to Canada to set his machinery in motion and induce the Privy Council to act, and did not return till he had been commissioned to co-operate with her Majesty's minister. But when he did return he was not demonstrative. To have opened the subject in March or April might have brought it to the attention of our people and aroused opposition. Mr. Brown was quite too politic for this: and it was not till about the 10th of May that the articles he had prepared began to appear in free-trade journals in various parts of the country. Though he has but little versatility of style, Mr. Brown is evidently industrious and fond of using his pen. Having seen his articles in the papers to which they had been sent, he republished them in broadsides such as this [exhibiting one], and with these concentrations of his wisdom and of his American patriotism he flooded the mails of unsuspecting members and senators. This sheet contains twenty-six articles, and I find the earliest that bears date was published on the 16th of May, one on the 20th, one on the 23d, one on the 25th, one on the 26th, one on the 27th, one on the 28th, one on the 29th, one on the 30th, and one on the 31st; one on June 1, one on June 2, one on June 3, two June 5, one on June 8, and the others are without date. What effect these able editorials and patriotic broadsides may have had upon the State Department, or the President, I have no means of knowing, but that they failed to convince the judgment or awake the enthusiasm of any portion of the people, you will, I am sure, bear witness. In justice to Mr. Brown, I should perhaps suggest that it must have been his love of editorial labor that tempted him to so flagrantly transcend the limits of the province of an accredited diplomatic agent as to thus attempt to influence popular and senatorial opinion and action on questions pending before the government to which he is accredited. If I err in ascribing to him these articles, which are as like to each other in style and matter as eggs or peas, I am far from being alone in the error.

What a Correspondent Told.

Boston rejoices in an organ of British trade, and the Manchester school of political economy. It is known as the *Boston Journal of Commerce*. Of course, being the organ of British trade and opinion, it not only favored the scheme of reciprocity, but its Washington correspondent seems to have been admitted pretty freely to the councils of the British plenipotentiaries, and when Mr. George Brown and Sir Edward Thornton—or, speaking more diplomatically, Sir Edward Thornton and Mr. George Brown—had sufficiently matured their plans to bring them fairly to the light of day, their friend and ally laid this communication before the readers of the *Boston Journal of Commerce* of May 30:—

“WASHINGTON, D. C., May 26, 1874.

“To New England the question of Canadian reciprocity and the freedom of the inshore fisheries of the maritime provinces of the New Dominion must be of paramount importance. There is no doubt whatever that the British government has made proposals to us looking toward the negotiation of a new reciprocity treaty.

“To some extent the matter has been kept very quiet. Early in the present session, Mr. Brown, the well-known editor of the *Toronto Globe*, appeared here in company with a Mr. A. G. Shaw, the United States consul at that place. They did not remain long, but several weeks after Mr. Brown returned alone, and after remaining at a hotel for a few days, took up his residence at Sir Edward Thornton's, the sagacious and suave diplomat who represents Great Britain at this government. Mr. Brown has remained here since, moving about quite quietly, few persons seeming to know that he was here as the confidential agent of the Dominion government in the matter of working up a reciprocity treaty. This fact I heard mentioned vaguely some time since, but it did not fasten itself on my mind until seeing articles, evidently inspired by one source, appearing in various forms in the press of different sections. I do not say the inspiration is that of Mr. Brown, but I am inclined to attribute some of them to the State Department itself. Mr. Fish is quite shrewd; he knows how to use as well as to abuse the press. A well-informed Washington journalist will, however, be sure to suppose, when he sees an elaborate Associated Press despatch relating to some question of foreign affairs, that the same has been inspired by the State Department. The gentleman who is at the head of their office would avoid one relating to diplomacy, unless it came to him by authority. As a proof of the movements in the

direction of reciprocity negotiations, let me cite a very elaborate Associated Press despatch from Washington, under date of the 12th inst., to an editorial in the *Tribune* of the 15th, to one in the *World* of the 9th (the democratic organ is always the best and earliest informed paper in New York on diplomatic affairs); to an editorial in the *Times* of the 16th; of the *Chicago Post and Mail* of the 13th; of the *Tribune* thereof, same date, and to articles in the *Evening Post*, the *Springfield Republican*, and other papers. Mr. Brown, or some one for him, understands the way to influence the American public, and Sir Edward Thornton, his host, appears to have well selected the means of reaching the American Senate. A series of very quiet *petite* dinners have been in progress at the British embassy. To these attractive affairs senators and other public men are invited. They have courses of Brown and reciprocity mingled with the soups, joints, and entrees.

"A friend of mine—a leading member of the house—dined there a few evenings since. Of course the conversation turned on 'reciprocity,' Canada, its relations with the United States. Mr. Brown was eloquent and not wearisome on the advantages of such a treaty, which it is now understood has been proposed by Sir Edward, and an answer to which is expected by the 10th of June from the State Department. The minister, while Mr. Brown was arguing that the Dominion would and need not gravitate to the United States, and that it would be better for both to be separate, though intimate and friendly, remarked, *sotto voce*, to the guest referred to: 'Of course, General, I would not say so to Mr. Brown, for he is Canadian, and all his interests are there, but speaking for myself, I should not care at all if the provinces were to be annexed to the United States tomorrow, nor do I believe the result would greatly annoy the British government.' Perhaps this may have been undiplomatic, but it was certainly significant. It is rumored here, and I give it as a straw without testing its quality, that the late visits to the capital of the editorial Warwicks of the liberal movement, Messrs. Horace White, 'Sam' Bowles, Murat Halstead, and Mr. Watterson, had something to do with pushing forward Mr. George Brown's mission."

Why I Propounded a Question.

Before passing from this curious epistle, which, tested by facts that have since come to my knowledge, I am constrained to say contains far more truth than poetry, I must declare that I cannot believe, and that no one who knows the present Secretary of State will believe, that he is capable of conspiring against the interests of the trade and commerce of his country, and of forwarding such a

negotiation, while carefully concealing the fact from those senators and members of Congress, who, it might be fair to presume, would not approve the treaty, but might raise their voice and warn the country of the impending danger. But it remains a curious fact that, while certain friends of free trade in and out of Congress appear to have been fully apprised of the progress of the scheme, others could obtain no information on the subject. The letter I have just read and other papers overcame my incredulity and excited my curiosity, and on the 3d of June, seven days after the date of the letter, I asked unanimous consent to submit the following resolution. It was read and objected to by Mr. Cox, the ever-ready representative of the foreign trade of New York. It, however, went to the Associated Press, and served to warn the country, and call forth many protests:—

"Whereas, By section 7, article 1 of the Constitution of the United States it is provided that all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, and by section 8 of said article it is further provided that Congress shall have power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, and to regulate commerce with foreign nations: therefore be it

"Resolved, That the President of the United States be and he is hereby requested to inform this house whether the Executive Department of the government is at this time engaged in considering the terms of a treaty by which commerce between the United States and the British Provinces of North America is to be regulated, and by which Congress will be deprived of its constitutional right to control these important subjects, thus specifically confided to it by the express terms of the Constitution."

What the Organs of English Manufacturers say.

Let me refer to another line of proof that this so-called Canadiana treaty is an English job. It is the jubilant tone of the home organs of British manufacturers at the prospect of coming free trade with the United States. I have seen many expressions of this kind, and could produce several, but shall detain you by reading but one, which you may accept as a sample of the many. Referring to the meetings held after the plot had been discovered, in various parts of Pennsylvania, by the representatives of a number of industries, to protest against the ratification of this treaty, the *Sheffield Telegraph* of August 22 says:—

"What wonder these gentlemen indulged in heated speeches and passed condemnatory resolutions? They know that, the reciprocity treaty once passed, the days of monopoly are numbered. Congress.

sional and especially senatorial mills grind slowly, but with the new Democratic blood being rapidly introduced into their management, they will inevitably grind monopoly to an impalpable powder. Meantime, in the wrath of Pennsylvanian manufacturers at the probable introduction of what they consider to be the thin end of the wedge, known as the reciprocity with Canada, the thick end of which is free trade, English manufacturers in general, and Sheffield manufacturers in particular, should see that something is transpiring worthy of their earnest attention. Since Pittsburg is so enraged at the distant prospect, when import duties are abolished, of being brought into a neck and neck race with Sheffield—Sheffield only handicapped with the cost of freight across the Atlantic, it is time for Sheffield to get itself into training, that when the event comes off, it may not be found too late at the tape. The event is yet in the distance, but what we desire to point out to Sheffield manufacturers is this—as the winners of the Two Thousand Guineas, the Oaks, and the Derby give some indications of the winner of the Great St. Leger, there may be a field in which Sheffield manufacturers can, in the event of the reciprocity treaty being ratified, show their capacity for competing with Pennsylvanian manufacturers on their own ground, when free trade, of which reciprocity is the first fruits, opens that ground to international competition. England has been emphatically assured by the Canadian Prime Minister, the Canadian plenipotentiary, and—lastly and most strongly—by Lord Dufferin, in his speech at Chicago, that Canada will not consent to a differential arrangement to the prejudice of the mother country. *In other words, what the United States is permitted to import into Canada at specific duty or free of duty, that also it will be arranged may be imported from the United Kingdom on precisely the same terms. Well, then, shall not our iron and hardware manufacturers go up and possess the land?* The import duties into Canada of the articles named are as follows:—

	Per cent.
Canada plates and tin plates	5
Sheet iron	5
Nail and spike rod iron	5
Bar, rod, or hoop iron	5
Boiler plate iron	5
Rolled plate iron	5
Brass or copper, manufactured	15
Hardware	15
Plated ware	15

“Now, free admission of all, or nearly all, these articles into Canada, will no doubt be stipulated for on behalf of the American

manufacturers of them. If such a stipulation is ratified, the same privilege will be conferred on English manufacturers. Surely they will not fail to take advantage of it when the disadvantages they will labor under will be merely the difference in freight, which will always exist in consequence of two thousand miles of ocean rolling between the two countries—a difference which very slight economy on this side of the water would easily surmount. Shoals of American citizens are passing over to Canada in the summer season, and as we, when in a Continental country, buy our box of cigars, or other cheap product of that country, so American citizens in Canada ransack the various cities and towns for cheap purchases; articles of British manufacture being specially in demand. Our serious advice to our manufacturers is, leave no stone unturned to take the leading position in the Canadian markets when the reciprocity treaty is ratified. Send to the New Dominion the best specimens of your manufacture, and charge the lowest practicable price, because in so doing you will be hastening the downfall of American monopoly, and, by your excellent workmanship and reasonable charges in the smaller markets of Canada, throwing open for yourselves the larger and almost unlimited market of the American Union, and obtaining a foothold there from which, if you act with sustained energy and discretion, you can never be driven."

The Government only, and not the People, was to be consulted.

The editor of the *Sheffield Telegraph* was slightly mistaken when he supposed that American manufacturers would stipulate for the free admission of all or any of the articles he enumerated. Indeed, he was mistaken in supposing that the tactics of the British government, as elucidated by her plenipotentiaries, would permit the American manufacturers to have any voice in the matter, or propose any stipulations on the subject. The cunningly-devised plan of her Majesty's representatives was to negotiate in secret; and have the treaty sent to the Senate for confirmation in the busy, closing hours of the session, before the protest of the American people could be heard. In relation to this so-called treaty of reciprocity one side only was to make propositions and to be heard in argument.

The Direct Appeal of British Ministers to the American Senate and People.

I have here a copy of a pamphlet entitled, "Memorandum of the Commercial Relations, Past and Present, of the British North American Provinces with the United States of America," of which,

though it was circulated confidentially in Washington during the last session of the Senate, I have but recently, after much effort in many directions, been able to obtain a copy. It is dated at Washington, 27th of April, 1874, and is signed Edward Thornton and George Brown. It purports to be an impartial examination of the commercial relations that have existed between the United States and the British North American Provinces for the last fifty years. It says: "An impartial examination of the commercial relations that have existed between the United States and the British North American Provinces for the last fifty years cannot fail to establish, we have ventured to think, beyond all doubt, that the traffic between them has been exceedingly valuable to both countries, but that the United States have, from first to last, reaped greatly the largest advantage from it." Time will not permit me to bring to your notice the briefest abstract of this statement, but I may remark, in passing, that if it be full, fair, and frank, Sir Edward Thornton and Mr. George Brown must feel that the injunction, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you," is inadequate to express the Christian duty the British and Canadian governments owe to this Republic; for if they wish to revive reciprocity at such a cost to Canada as this pamphlet discloses—if the treaty of 1854 was as infinitely profitable to the United States as they represent, and they still wish to revive it—they must believe that the scriptural injunction should read, "Do unto others a great deal more than you would hope or expect anybody to do unto you." So surprised was I when first permitted to read this argument addressed directly by British plenipotentiaries to the American Senate, that, remembering Mr. Larned's report on the same subject, I determined to compare the statements of the British diplomats with the facts as found by the American agent. Mr. Larned is not hostile to reciprocity. His report points out many advantages that would flow to both countries from actual reciprocity, but he does not find that it had been attained under the treaty of 1854, and it is apparent that he would find still graver objections in the unfairness and want of reciprocity in the proposed treaty of 1874. Speaking of the trade under the former treaty Mr. Larned says: "The actual trade, therefore, which occurred between the two countries during the existence of the covenant of 1854 shows an inequality of exchanges very nearly in the proportion of two to one. Two hundred and thirty-nine millions of dollars' worth of Canadian products found a free market in the United States under the provisions of the treaty, against one hundred and twenty-four millions of American products for which the treaty opened a free

market in the Canadas. Of the total Canadian products sold in the United States during a twelve years' period, ninety-four per cent. came free, and but six per cent. paid duty, while fifty-eight per cent. only of the American commodities sold in Canada passed free to their market, and forty-two per cent. of all paid tribute to the custom-houses of the provincial government. Moreover, the entire sales from this country to Canada, free goods and dutiable goods, domestic products and foreign re-exports, altogether aggregate less for the twelve years by twenty-six millions than the *free goods* which Canadian producers were enabled by the treaty to sell in the United States."

In considering the question whether reciprocal free trade between the Dominion and the United States is practicable, Mr. Larned says: "We want not simply to exchange breadstuffs and provisions, and coal and hides and tallow with them, but to sell them our own cottons, our boots and shoes, our machinery, and our manufactures generally, in trade for their lumber, their live stock, their ashes, their plaster, their furs, their minerals, and the general products of their farmers. *We want, in fact, such an adjustment of the trade that the provinces shall not sell what they have to sell in the United States and buy what they have to buy in Great Britain.*"

The facts, figures, and deductions of Mr. Larned cannot be reconciled with those presented in this pamphlet by her Majesty's ministers to chosen members of the United States Senate, and embodied in the chapter of the British Blue Book to which, though it was not intended for American circulation, I have referred.

A Glance at the Schedules.

But let us turn to the schedules containing the articles in which Canada is to enjoy by virtue of the proposed treaty free trade with both England and the United States. They are constructed with great ingenuity, and leave open irritating questions enough to involve us in war twenty times over. The editor of the *Sheffield Telegraph*, though mistaken in supposing that the American manufacturers would stipulate for the free admission of the articles he enumerated, was right when he suggested that they would be found in these schedules. Here they are: Iron—bar, hoop, pig, puddled, rod, sheet, or scrap; iron nails, spikes, bolts, tacks, brads, or sprigs; iron castings, axes, axles, spades, shovels, snaths; locomotives for railways or parts thereof; lead, sheet or pig; mill, or factory, or steamboat fixed engines and machines, or parts thereof; printing type, presses, and folders, paper cutters, ruling machines, page-numbering machines, stereotyping and electrotyping apparatus, or

parts thereof; railroad cars, carriages, and trucks, or parts thereof; steel, wrought and cast, and steel plates and rails; tin tubes and piping; water-wheel machines and apparatus, or parts thereof; tweeds of wool solely; printing paper for newspapers, etc. etc., *ad infinitum*.

Such Reciprocity would end in War.

In examining the list of articles embraced by the schedules, or proposed free list, as I hope each of you will do, you will be struck by the ingenuity with which many of our industries which give work and wages to great numbers of people are to be involved in free competition with the lower wages of England and Scotland, and with which grave questions are left open for future settlement. The terms of the treaty refer to articles the growth, production, or manufacture of the Dominion or the United States. Let us, as an illustration, consider this clause of schedule C. Manufactures of wood solely, or wood nailed, bound, hinged, or locked with metal materials. Are the metal materials with which the articles may be nailed, bound, hinged, or locked, required to be of the growth and production of the country, or could such metal be procured in its finished condition from England, and sent into this country free of duty under this clause? If "and" had been used instead of "or," so that articles must be the growth, production, and manufacture of the country, the question would be more simple, but then England would take no interest in the treaty. In the course of a discussion of the subject a Canadian asks who is to determine what are the products and manufactures of the countries respectively. "Is," said he, "a spade or axe imported from England to pass into the United States free of duty under the new treaty, because we in Canada have put a handle to it?" The speaker admitted that this might seem an extreme case, but added that he selected an extreme case to illustrate his argument. If differences arise as to the construction of these clauses, what court will settle them? Shall we refer our tariff laws and customs regulations to a joint high commission? Under the teachings of our representatives of the Manchester School of Economy, the spade in question would undoubtedly enter free as a manufacture. Mr. Edward Atkinson asserts that pig-iron and cast-steel are raw material, because pig-iron will certainly be advanced, and cast-steel is used as the material out of which tools, surgical instruments, and other articles are manufactured; thus, broadcloth, in his loose way of thinking, is not only the material, but the raw material of the tailor. More accurate thinkers, while admitting that broadcloth is the material

of the tailor, and steel the material from which saws and other tools are fashioned, take care to define them as the manufactured or advanced materials which others, by their skill and labor, will still further advance.

Again, we find in this same schedule printing paper for newspapers. What phraseology could be simpler or more direct than that? But suppose our markets should be flooded with the fine sized paper upon which our best illustrated journals are printed, and it should be found, as has been the case in our experience, that the dimensions of the sheets had been so arranged as to permit them to be cut without loss into cap, post, and note paper. We could not prevent the consignment of more paper, because the market was glutted, and such paper was being cut to sizes and used to the detriment of our makers of writing paper. Nor could we prevent parties from using it as cap, post, or note paper, though the treaty had brought it through the custom house free as printing paper. And, again, we have tweeds of wool solely. What are tweeds? It is a commercial designation, and the articles to which it applies change with the fashion, and the name might cover in our markets as many varieties of woollen cloths as were once called serges and druggets in Portugal. But if this be regarded as an imaginary danger, is there not a real and grave one in the probability of yarns being spun and dyed and brought free of duty into Canada, to be woven or manufactured into every kind of cloth for free entry into our market? Would this be fair to France, to Belgium, and Germany, whose fabrics of the same kind would be liable to the duties imposed by our tariff? Am I wrong in thinking the American people would compel the government, even at the cost of war, to disregard a treaty so replete with fraudulent devices by which to work their ruin?

It is proper that I should say that I have selected these clauses almost at random, and not because they are the most striking or fraught with graver consequences than scores of others I might have taken, but because some illustrations were needed to show what a field this treaty would open for future diplomacy and arbitration, and, in spite of diplomacy and arbitration, for war with all its horrors.

Would not Reciprocity be Beneficial?

But I detain you too long, and yet before I close I should, perhaps, consider the question whether reciprocity between our northern neighbor and ourselves, if possible, would not be beneficial? To this question I answer, yes. Whatever increases the

productive activities of a people is a blessing, and those of the Canadian people, now numbering about four millions, would be vastly quickened could they have access to our markets, while we should not fail to receive some slight advantage from freer access to their more limited markets ; but the contrast between the markets of four millions of people, whose rivers are ice-bound nearly half the year, during which they have no commercial outlet except through our territory by rail, and those of forty millions of more active and prosperous people, whose rivers are never obstructed by ice, are by no means reciprocal. But will we derive no advantages from the widening and deepening of the Welland Canal, and the improvement of the channel of the St. Lawrence ? Yes, the people of our country inhabiting certain comparatively limited sections would be greatly benefited by this ; but it is a privilege they need not purchase. They must get it. The very existence of the Dominion demands the speedy completion of these works. Without them all their interests languish, and an ample answer to the sophistical memorandum of commercial relations prepared by Sir Edward Thornton and Mr. George Brown, by which they show such marvellously favorable results to the United States from reciprocity, are answered by the indisputable fact that during the existence of the treaty few or no Canadians emigrated to the United States, but that with the cessation of the treaty there began a flow of Canadian immigration into this country which has been so steady and so large that Canadian-French is found to be the prevailing language in many of the new manufacturing towns of New England, and Canadians are found in large numbers in all the Western States and Territories of our country. Indeed, so great has been the immigration of French Canadians to this country, that a public effort has recently been set on foot to induce them to return from their more prosperous homes in the United States to the land of their nativity upon our northern borders. It will not be easy for Sir Edward Thornton and Mr. George Brown to persuade the American people that the Canadians adhered to their native land with French tenacity for twelve years, during which the people of the United States were absorbing their wealth, and that when the cause of their suffering had been removed by the rescinding of the treaty of 1854, they emigrated from their then more prosperous country by hundreds of thousands.

On this point one of the daily newspapers of Montreal said in October, 1870 : " Statistics tell us, and any one who has travelled in the United States will confirm the fact, that we annually suffer heavier losses from native persons leaving the country than the

total figure of the immigration returns. There are, at a low computation, half a million of native-born Canadians now domiciled in the United States. They have established themselves in the Republic, not because they prefer that form of government, but because the spirit of enterprise seems to have died out on this soil, and they see no field opened to skilled industry." That was less than four years from the termination of the reciprocity treaty. Mr. Larned tells us that it was said in a public address, by one of the prominent men of the Province of Quebec, a little more than a year before the date of his report, that "the immigration of common laborers to the States is something actually alarming, and it could not be otherwise, for our water-powers are neglected, our mines are closed, and we have no means of furnishing employment to our people;" and he adds, "within a few weeks past, to cite one more authority, the leading newspaper of the city of Quebec, the *Daily Chronicle*, made the following statement, which is full of significance: 'Unfortunately, it is a truism, and requires no demonstration, that ship-building, formerly the main industry of Quebec, has almost ceased to exist, and that, consequently, our laboring population, the very bone and sinew of the body politic, are commencing to seek in the adjoining Republic that employment which they see no longer can be found here. Too many, indeed, already, we fear, have removed permanently from our provinces.'"

The Prosperity of Canada depends on our Carrying Trade.

The truth is that Canada cannot exist without our carrying trade. It is our traffic that is making Montreal a great shipping port, whence western grain and provisions are sent to Liverpool, Belfast, Glasgow, and other British ports, thus supporting not only the Canadian railway system, but her ship-yards and steam-marine. Without this trade no railroad or canal in the Dominion would be a remunerative property, and many of them would not earn enough to meet current expenses. On this point Mr. Larned justly says, "No one will question that we find convenience and advantage in the use of Canadian channels for the passage of our commerce between the eastern and western States, and that we find profit in acting as the carriers of so large a part of the commerce of Canada with the outside world. Both these arrangements of trade are of important value to this country, and its interests would suffer materially from any suspension of either; but the difference in the situation of the two countries with reference to that is very marked. To the Canadian provinces their importance is nothing less than vital, since, on the one hand, the very sustenance of the arterial

system of the Canadas is derived from the American commerce which circulates through it; while, on the other hand, their own commerce with the world abroad can only be conducted at exceeding disadvantage, if at all, for five months of the year, otherwise than across the territory of the United States, and by the privilege of the customs regulations of the American government."

If, therefore, the Dominion desires to increase its vital force to promote immigration and permanent settlement, and to develop the unquestioned mineral resources of the country, she must invite our carrying trade, by offering it superior facilities—must open such channels and build such railroads as will accommodate it; and must manage them in such a way and for such rates of toll as will transport our products through her territory cheaper and more expeditiously than it can be done over our own. Why, then, should we endanger our industries and involve ourselves in entanglements with England from which war alone can relieve us, as consideration for Canada doing that without doing which she cannot live and grow?

Our True Position on the Question.

The trade between the Dominion and us cannot, from the very nature of things, be reciprocal while she continues to be a part of the British Empire, and can only become so when the same flag shall wave over both countries, and the people of each shall bear their share of the burdens imposed upon us by the recent war, which the Canadians did so much to prolong. Then labor in either country will find equal rewards, which it now does not. Meanwhile, ladies and gentlemen, I say to you, as I said to the House of Representatives on the 7th of March, 1866, "Let us maintain our rights, our interests, and our country's dignity. Let us go on our way as though there were no British provinces, and the mere action of British legislation constraining their people to unrequited agricultural labor will make them sigh for our prosperity, and then we shall find that the American Constitution is as elastic as it is grand and enduring. It has expanded to embrace immense tracts of territory. Our flag has swept from the limits of the original thirteen States to the Pacific and southward to the Rio Grande; and, sir when the people of Canada shall, as they will if we protect our labor, ask to unite their destinies with ours, the world will receive additional proof that when Providence impelled our fathers to the creation of our government, it gave them the wisdom to bless us with a Constitution which is the fit canopy of a continent, and will yet crown one."

Here I should pause, but you will bear with me a few minutes

more. I cannot believe, indeed I will not believe, that the Senate will consent to the ratification of this treaty.

But the fact that a treaty which would deprive the House of Representatives of its constitutional right to regulate the revenues of the government, revolutionize our revenue system, and compel us to depend chiefly on direct taxation, as this one would, could be concocted in England and matured with such cunning amplitude of detail as this has been, and be presented to our government as an expression of the wishes of the Canadian people, and the further fact that her Britannic Majesty's ministers plenipotentiary could use the columns of many of our papers, and employ such agencies as are described in the letter I have read, to influence the opinions of Senators and members of Congress, and that our own people should be permitted to know little or nothing of these movements until on the eve of adjournment the treaty was submitted to the Senate, illustrates a possibility of danger against which the people should demand a constitutional safeguard. The next amendment to the Constitution should, in my judgment, be one limiting the treaty-making power, and guarding against Executive encroachment upon the constitutional right of the Representatives of the people to regulate the revenues of the country.